

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1104

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0164

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO PFOR
SUBJ: CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES: THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

REF: (A) 76 USNATO 6625, (B) 76 STATE 209295 (C) 76 STATE
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SUMMARY: ALLIES ARE LOOKING TO THE US TO SUGGEST
PRINCIPAL THEMES AND PROVIDE IMPETUS TO FUTURE
CONSULTATIONS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC).
THEY ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW ON THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF EAST-
WEST RELATIONS AND ALLIED DEFENSE AND THEY DOUBTLESS
HOPE TO INFLUENCE THESE VIEWS BEFORE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION
ADOPTS POSITIONS AND TAKES DECISIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES. TO MEET
THESE ALLIED INTERESTS, WE OUTLINE BELOW A POSSIBLE SCHEDULE
FOR MAJOR NAC CONSULTATIONS THIS SPRING ON SALT, EAST-WEST
RELATIONS, AND CSCE, AND NOTE ADDITIONAL TOPICS THAT MIGHT BE
DISCUSSED IN NATO LATER THIS YEAR. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE.
END SUMMARY.

1. SALT. THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S AND SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE'S
COMMENTS AND THE PROSPECTS OF A PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH
BREZHNEV HAVE REINFORCED ATTENTION TO SALT, A DOMINANT
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ALLIED CONCERN, AND THE ALLIES WILL WANT TO BE
TOLD SOON OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S PLANS. ACCORD-
INGLY, WE URGE THAT THE US TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO
BRIEF THE ALLIES ON SALT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, PER-
HAPS IN FEBRUARY OR MARCH.

2. GENERAL EAST-WEST RELATIONS. BEYOND THE SPECI-
FIC AND HIGHLY FOCUSED INTEREST IN SALT, THE
ALLIES ALSO WILL BE KEENLY INTERESTED IN THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION'S GENERAL PHILOSOPHY AND CON-

CEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE BROAD RANGE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO DEVELOP SPECIFICS OF US POLICIES BEFORE CONSULTING ON THIS MATTER WITH THE ALLIES; RATHER, THE ALLIES WOULD WELCOME, AND PERHAPS IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO PROVIDE, INITIAL VIEWS TO STIMULATE SUBSEQUENT ANALYSIS AND CONSULTATIONS. A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE, WE BELIEVE, SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE THE ALLIES TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE DYNAMICS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS ACROSS THEIR SPECTRUM (AS WE SUGGESTED IN PART VI REFTTEL), AND TO ELICIT THEIR VIEWS AS AN AID TO US POLICY FORMULATION. A TENTATIVE TARGET DATE FOR A NAC CONSULTATION WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS MIGHT BE SOMETIME IN MARCH.

3. CSCE. THE UK HAS PROPOSED IN POLADS A NAC MEETING WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS ON CSCE IN LATE APRIL TO WHICH DEPARTMENT HAS CONCURRED IN PRINCIPLE (REF C) WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF FRANCE, WE ANTICIPATE BROAD SUPPORT FOR SUCH A MEETING WHICH, IN PREPARING FOR BELGRADE, WILL PROVIDE A LOGICAL INTERMEDIATE STEP BETWEEN THE EXPERT DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE AT NATO SCHEDULED EARLY THIS SPRING AND CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE BY MINISTERS AT THE LONDON MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MAY.

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4. AS SUPPLEMENTS TO THE FOREGOING, WE WOULD ADD THE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE TOPICS FOR CONSULTATIONS LATER THIS YEAR:

(A) THE MIDDLE EAST. WHILE THERE IS STRONG ALLIED INTEREST IN POSSIBLE NEW US INITIATIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THEY RECOGNIZE ALSO THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY IN US DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, WE HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE THE ALLIES AT NATO WITH AN EARLY INDICATION OF GENERAL US THINKING, PERHAPS THROUGH REPORTS BY THE US PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OR, IF APPROPRIATE, IN A NAC CONSULTATION INVOLVING EXPERTS. FOLLOWING ANY VISITS BY SENIOR OFFICIALS TO THE AREA, AS IN THE PAST, IT WILL BE MOST USEFUL TO BRIEF THE ALLIES ON DEVELOPMENTS.

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(B) AFRICA. SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY CROSLAND BROUGHT THE ALLIES UP TO DATE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL. IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE BRITISH TO PROVIDE FURTHER REPORTS, AS WE EXPECT THEY WILL, ON IVOR RICHARD'S EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, WE WOULD ANTICIPATE THAT A BROADER CONSULTATION ON AFRICA WELL MIGHT WAIT UNTIL AUTUMN, OR UNTIL A SETTLEMENT SEEMS CLOSER THAN AT PRESENT.

(C) EAST ASIA. IN LIGHT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY HUMMEL'S PARTICIPATION IN A NOVEMBER NAC MEETING THAT FOCUSED ON CHINA AFTER MAO, WE SEE NO NEED FOR ANOTHER NAC MEETING DEVOTED TO THIS AREA IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

(D) LAW OF THE SEA. THE ALLIANCE BENEFITED, WE BELIEVE, FROM NAC CONSULTATIONS WITH EXPERTS ON SECURITY ASPECTS OF LOS DEVELOPMENTS IN 1974, 1975, AND 1976. IN VIEW OF THE RECENT ASSERTION OF 200-MILE JURISDICTION BY THE US AND ATLANTIC ALLIES, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO EXAMINE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND POTENTIAL EAST-WEST CONFLICTS IN
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THE LOS AREA AGAIN THIS YEAR. ON TIMING, WE DEFER TO OUR EXPERTS.

(E) ARMS CONTROL. WHILE CONSULTATIONS ON SALT, MBFR, AND DISARMAMENT EXPERTS' WORK WILL KEEP THE ALLIES INFORMED OF US VIEWS IN THIS AREA, WE BELIEVE IT MAY BE USEFUL ALSO TO ATTEMPT AT THE COUNCIL LEVEL WITH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS TO REVIEW THE OVERALL DYNAMICS OF ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BROADER POLICIES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. SUCH A CONSULTATION HAS NOT BEEN ATTEMPTED BEFORE, BUT WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE STRUCTURED TO PROVIDE A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF PROSPECTS IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD AND OF POSSIBLE WESTERN INITIATIVES TO BALANCE RECURRING SOVIET INITIATIVES. AS REPORTED SEPTELS, THE DANES HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL

INITIATIVES THAT MIGHT GIVE NATO A MORE
POSITIVE IMAGE, AND WE EXPECT A PRIVATE MEETING OF
THE COUNCIL WILL BE SCHEDULED ON THIS TOPIC.

(F) MBFR. THE ALLIES CONTINUE TO BE KEENLY
INTERESTED IN MBFR. THE CONTINUING AND CLOSE NAC
CONSULTATION ON MBFR SATISFIED NORMAL CONSULTATION
REQUIREMENTS ON THIS ISSUE. MBFR WOULD BE AN
IMPORTANT ASPECT OF A REINFORCED NAC MEETING ON
EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS SUGGESTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE.
WASHINGTON MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER A REINFORCED
NAC MEETING LATER THIS YEAR SPECIFICALLY ON MBFR, IN
ORDER TO REVIEW THE BROAD IMPLICATIONS OF THE
NEGOTIATION AND GENERAL ALLIED POLITICAL CONCERNS.
ANY SPECIFIC US PROPOSALS TO THE ALLIES FOR FURTHER
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION MIGHT BEST BE
HANDLED THROUGH THE REGULAR NAC CONSULTATIVE
MECHANISM, AS WAS THE NUCLEAR OFFER, IN ORDER NOT
TO PUBLICIZE INTERNAL ALLIED CONSIDERATION OF SUCH
PROPOSALS.

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5. IN DISCUSSING CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR COLLEAGUES
HERE--WHEN THE TIMING IS RIPE AND WHEN GUIDANCE IS
RECEIVED--WE WILL BEAR IN MIND OUR STANDING INSTRUCTIONS (REF B) ON THE DESIRABILITY OF STIMULATING THE
ALLIES TO PUT FORWARD THEIR OWN SUGGESTIONS FOR
CONSULTATIONS, AND AVOIDING UNNECESSARY CONTENTION
WITH THE FRENCH. WE BELIEVE THE TACTICS OF PRESENT-

ING EACH PROPOSAL TO THE ALLIES SHOULD BE CAREFULLY
WORKED OUT IN EACH CASE. STRAUSSZ-HUPE

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